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Natural Resources and Social Conflict

Towards Critical Environmental Security

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Preface

This collection of essays emerged out of an international conference entitled 'Environmental Violence and Conflict: Implications for Global Security', which took place in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in February 2010. This conference brought together a wide array of scholars, policymakers and activists to evaluate the role of the non-human environment in precipitating and perpetuating violence. The meeting was made possible by a grant from the Canadian Department of National Defense (DND) under its Security and Defence Forum Special Project Fund. One of the key aims of the conference was to foster deeper engagement between the security and environmental communities, whose expertise are too often isolated from each other. We also hoped to promote dialogue and understanding among key analysts and actors in order to better position states, communities, non-governmental and inter-governmental organisations to confront emerging threats to environmental security.

What emerged out of this conference was a deep critique of the dominant, state-centric discourse regarding the place of 'the environment' in security studies. Perhaps this was to be expected, given the widely shared philosophical viewpoints of the people attending the meeting. However, many of the participants were unknown or only partly known to each other, working separately on diverse issues of environmental (in)security, and the too-often negative impacts of state-centric approaches to 'securing' the environment, but held together by a common interest in the scholarship of Simon Dalby and others writing from the perspective of critical political ecology. The meeting was characterized by a series of *Ah ha!* moments, where the not-so-obvious connections between, for example, peak-oil 'denialists', coltan resource mafias and the health of Canadian Aboriginal peoples were made plain. For us, both organizers and participants, these were exciting entry points to investigate how issues of security reflect broader patterns of political struggle and social control. As the editors, we have tried to distil these findings down to their essence while preserving the breadth and diversity of the individual case studies. We hope that, at minimum, this collection helps further discussion and encourage sustained research regarding the role and place of 'critical environmental security'.

As the editors, we wish to thank a number of people who helped us bring this collection to publication. The staff and faculty of Dalhousie's

Centre for Foreign Policy Studies and the Department of International Development Studies were instrumental in making the workshop a success: many thanks to Shannon Langton, Shelly Whitman and David Black for all their hard work. We also wish to thank all those who participated in the Halifax workshop; we hope that we have captured some of the liveliness of that meeting in this collection. Corrine Cash, Ann Griffiths and Mohsin Farooque provided important editorial assistance. IPE Series Editor, Timothy Shaw, and Palgrave Macmillan Senior Commissioning Editor, Christina M. Brian, provided helpful advice and encouragement throughout the publishing process. Anonymous reviewers provided important insights and critiques as the project moved from rough draft to final product. Larry Swatuk would like to thank his wife, Corrine Cash, for her steadfast support. Never once has she questioned his sanity – at least not to his face. Matthew Schnurr thanks his spouse, Natalie Rosen, for her constant encouragement. Together they would like to dedicate this work to Louis Isaac Schnurr, in the hope that these discussions about environmental security will lead toward a more equitable and sustainable future for his generation.

Notes on Contributors

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Angela Carter is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Environmental Studies at Memorial University of Newfoundland's Grenfell Campus, where she has played a lead role in establishing the Environmental Policy Institute and Master of Arts in Environmental Policy programme. She holds an M.A. (Carleton), M.A. (Cornell) and a Ph.D. (Cornell). Carter researches comparative environmental policy regimes surrounding oil developments in key Canadian and American cases. She is currently a collaborator on a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Strategic Research Grant, 'The Environmental Assessment Processes of Canadian "Frontier" Oil and Gas', with principal investigator Dr Gail Fraser and Dr Anna Zalik.

Simon Dalby is Professor of Geography, Environmental Studies and Political Economy at Carleton University. Professor Dalby's research work concerns critical geopolitics, environmental security and political ecology and how these matters link up with discussions of empire, the war on terror and contemporary modes of metropolitan insecurity. He is co-editor of *Rethinking Geopolitics* (Routledge, 1998), *The Geopolitics Reader* (Routledge, 1998, 2006) and the scholarly journal *Geopolitics*, and author of *Environmental Security* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002) and *Security and Environmental Change* (Polity, 2009).

Wilfrid Greaves is a Ph.D. candidate at the Munk School of Global Affairs and the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto, where his research examines security, resource development and environmental change in the Canadian and circumpolar Arctic regions. An SSHRC Doctoral Fellow, his work has been published in *The Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, *The Pearson Papers* and *International Journal* (forthcoming in 2012). A graduate of the University of Calgary and Bishop's University, his other research interests include security theory, Canadian foreign policy, multilateral peacebuilding, and the international mission in Afghanistan.

Philippe Le Billon is Associate Professor at the University of British Columbia with the Department of Geography and the Liu Institute for Global Issues. He has published widely on the links between natural resources and armed conflicts, but also on the political economy of war and corruption. He is the author of *Wars of Plunder: Conflicts Profits and the Politics of Resources* (Hurst/Columbia UP, 2012), *Fuelling War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts* (IISS/Routledge, 2005) and is the editor of *The Geopolitics of Resource Wars* (Cass, 2005). His current research focuses on extractive sector governance and geographies of violence.

Shane Mulligan completed his doctorate at Cambridge University, UK, in 2004, and finished a SSHRC Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Waterloo in 2010. He spent several of the intervening years studying energy, and especially fossil fuel depletion, through the lens of international relations. He now works as a consultant with renewable energy co-operatives in the Waterloo Region, while striving to develop realistic expectations and relevant skills for an energy-poor future.

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Notes on Contributors

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Larry A. Swatuk is Associate Professor and Director of the International Development programme in the School of Environment, Enterprise and Development (SEED) at the University of Waterloo, Canada. Dr Swatuk has been a visiting professor or research fellow at Rhodes University, University of Western Cape, National University of Lesotho and the African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies in Nigeria. For about two decades he has investigated and written about the potential for natural resources to act as catalysts for cooperative behaviour among states and communities. Among his recent publications are the edited collection (with Lars Wirkus) *Transboundary Water Governance in Southern Africa: Examining Underexplored Dimensions* (Nomos Press, 2009), and a conflict resolution training manual written for Cap-Net, the UNDP-supported Capacity Building Network for Integrated Water Resources Management (available free online at www.cap-net.org).

Peter Stoett is Professor of Global Politics at the Department of Political Science, Concordia University. His main areas of expertise include international relations and law, global environmental politics, human rights and Canadian foreign policy. In 2012 he will sit as the Fulbright Visiting Research Chair in Canadian-American Relations at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington. Professor Stoett has conducted research in Europe (including the Balkans), eastern, southern and western Africa, Central America, and Asia. He is the author/editor of seven books, including (with Christopher Gore) *Environmental Challenges and Opportunities: Local-Global Perspectives on Canadian Issues* (Edmond Montgomery, 2009), (with Eric Laferriere) *International Ecopolitical Theory: Critical Reflections* (UBC Press, 2006) and (with Allen Sens) *Global Politics: Origins, Currents, and Directions*, Fourth Edition (Toronto: ITP Nelson, 2010).

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Sarah Marie Wiebe is a Ph.D. candidate in Canadian politics and public policy at the School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa. Her dissertation, titled *Place Politics: Ecological Citizenship in Canada's Chemical Valley*, explores the ecological politics of citizen engagement in this region of south-western Ontario. The dissertation examines conceptions of the relationship between bodies, land and the environment, with a particular focus on the impact of pollution on a First Nations Community, the Aamjiwnaang First Nation. Her work examines the role of 'place' in Canadian public health policy. In addition to her ongoing research, she is the Graduate Student Representative for the Canadian Political Science Association.

List of Acronyms

3G	Third Generation Mobile Telecommunications
ACIA	Arctic Climate Impact Assessment
AMCOW	African Ministers' Council on Water
APO	After Peak Oil
BC	British Columbia
BP	British Petroleum
BPO	Before Peak Oil
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCS	Carbon Capture and Storage
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CEMA	Cumulative Environmental Management Association
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CEPAC	<i>Communaute des Eglises de Pentecote en Afrique Centrale</i>
CEQ	Council of Environmental Quality
CFA	Cooperative Framework Agreement
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNDP	<i>Congres National pour le Defense de les Peuples</i>
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
COP	Conference of the Parties
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DDT	Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada)
DOD	Department of Defense
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DTCB	Diamond Trading Company Botswana
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EDC	Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EIA	Energy Information Administration
EISA	Energy Independence and Security Act (US)
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
ENGOS	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations
ENSO	El Nino Southern Oscillation

EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FARDC	<i>Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo</i>
	Federal Bureau of Investigation (US)
FCPA	Foreign Corrupt Practices Act
FDLR	<i>Forces Democratique pour la Liberation du Rwanda</i>
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
	Group of Eight Highly-Industrialized Countries
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GIS	Global Imaging System
GNP	Gross National Product
GNPC	Ghana National Petroleum Corporation
GPRA	Ghana Petroleum Regulatory Authority
GSM	Global System for Mobile Telecommunications
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICO2N	Integrated Carbon Dioxide Network
IEA	International Energy Agency
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSET	Integrated National Security Enforcement Team
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPCS	International Programme on Chemical Safety
IR	International Relations
IWRM	Integrated Water Resources Management
LCD	Liquid Crystal Display
MAB	Mediation and Arbitration Board
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MOE	Ministry of the Environment (Canada)
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement

List of Acronyms

NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
NDC	National Democratic Congress (Ghana)
NDP	New Democratic Party
NEB	National Energy Board (Canada)
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
Nile-COM	Council of Ministers of Water Affairs of the Nile Basin
NPP	New Patriotic Party (Ghana)
NRDC	Natural Resources Defense Council
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
OEPA	Ontario Environmental Protection Agency
OGC	Oil and Gas Commission
OGCA	Oil and Gas Commission Act (British Columbia)
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PARECO	Coalition of Congolese Patriotic Resistance
PCB	Polychlorinated Biphenyl
PDAs	Personal Digital Assistants
PHAC	Public Health Agency of Canada
POPs	Persistent Organic Pollutants
RBC	Royal Bank of Canada
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RET	Radical Environmental Targeting
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAGD	Steam Assisted Gravity Drainage
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SOMIGL	Société Minière des Grands Lacs
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada)
STOP	Stop Tar Sands Operations Permanently
US	United States
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WEO	World Energy Outlook
WHO	World Health Organization
WLAP	Ministry of Water Land and Air Protection (British Columbia)
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development